lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstructions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and encumbered by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 22, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 360). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

297 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated
976 plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's
961 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their
962 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the
965 inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood
961 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my
166 departure (cf. Ch. 8). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances
[621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined
[578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller,
196 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of
166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella
961 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from
[764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the
[751] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which
[342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

cane; the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. In Tapirapé name is korsanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name cruá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 8th edition, is synonymous with cruí, cruá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the canabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (430), cunhua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to Tamplitíua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plantation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any. The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language), sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:198] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tamplitíua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.

1 Baldus--155 E-6 (1935,1947)1964-1969 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

92 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grown in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [315] the large braided cylinders (orokoroe) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The [71] Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 280 and 380). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Asuró, and Yuruna, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how-ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other tropa. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and villages to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anãnga (spirit or shadow).

The anãnga (flowers, human spirits or ghosts (ala or anãnga among the *Tapinambe*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anãnga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anãnga, among whom were the awaké anãnã, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpianãnã were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anãnga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaõ) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupilke beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans